

What are we up against today? What is the challenge facing us? There is no doubt that the hopes and expectations attached to detente in the 1970s have been badly shaken by such actions as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet role in the imposition of martial law in Poland. But in my view detente is a process, not a policy, and the fact that the process has run into trouble does not necessarily mean all our past policies were wrong. If detente has run into trouble, it is not only because of the Soviet aggression; it is also because of disagreement between East and West over what could be expected from detente. Even within the West, there is disagreement on this.

For the East, detente represented a way of continuing the ideological struggle by all means short of war, while obtaining the maximum benefit from cooperation with the West, in particular access to Western technology and credits, some of which in turn were devoted to improving the USSR's military capability.

For many in the West, on the other hand, detente represented easier, more normal East-West relations and reduced tensions, with tangible benefits not only in trade but also in the area of human contacts, family reunification and human rights. Unfortunately, we in the West were unable to succeed in ensuring that the relaxation of tensions was accompanied by restraint on both sides, that benefits were really reciprocal, and that unacceptable Soviet behaviour would inevitably affect the quality of the relationship.

In sum, however, I think it is a reasonable assessment that the detente process did open up Eastern Europe to improved contacts with the West, did create the possibility of developing mutual confidence, and did reduce the risk of conflict in Europe. Nor should we make light of its remaining assets, which include an extensive framework of East-West negotiating forums such as the CSCE Review Meetings and Arms Control and Disarmament Talks, and a continuing dialogue between the Super Powers as exemplified by the possibility of a Summit meeting later this year between Presidents Reagan and Brezhnev. But we must ensure a firmer foundation for the detente process if we are to achieve a more constructive, secure and durable East-West relationship.

Vital to such an achievement is a united Alliance, able and willing to negotiate from a sense of strength and